

GERMAN PRINCE ADMITS GERMANY WAS WAR BENT

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felt himself by no means secure, as I learnt from a private source. As late as August 1 the King replied evasively to the French President. But in the telegram from Berlin which announced the threatening danger of war England was already mentioned as an opponent. In Berlin, therefore, one already reckoned war with England.

Before my departure Sir Edward Grey received me on August 5 at his house. I had gone there at his desire. He was deeply moved. He said to me that he would always be ready to mediate, and, "We don't want to crush Germany." Unfortunately, this confidential conversation was published.

Thereby Herr von Bethmann Hollweg destroyed the last possibility of reaching peace via England.

Our departure was thoroughly dignified and calm. Before we left the King had sent his Equestrian, Sir E. Ponsonby, to me, to express his regret at my departure and that he could not see me personally. Princess Louise wrote to me that the whole family lamented our going. Mrs. Asquith and other friends came to the embassy to say good-bye.

A special train took us to Harwich, where a guard of honor was drawn up for me. I was treated like a departing Sovereign. Thus ended my London Mission. It was wrecked, not by the perfidy of the British, but by the perfidy of our policy.

At the railway station in London Count Mensdorff (Austrian Ambassador) appeared with his staff. He was cheerful, and gave me to understand that perhaps he would remain in London. But to the English he said that it was not Austria, but we, who had wanted the war.

Faults of German Policy.

When now, after two years, I realize everything in retrospect, I say to myself that I realized too late that there was no place for me in a system which for years has lived only on tradition and routine, and which tolerates only representatives who report what one wants to read. Absence of prejudice and an independent judgment are combated, want of ability and of character are extolled and esteemed, but successes arouse hostility and uneasiness.

I had abandoned opposition to our mad Triple Alliance policy, because I saw that it was useless and that my warnings were represented as Austrophobia and an idee fixe. In a policy which is not mere gymnastics, or playing with documents, but the conduct of the business of the firm, there is no such thing as likes and dislikes; there is nothing but the interest of the community; but a policy which is based merely upon Austrians, Magyars, and Turks must end in hostility to Russia, and ultimately lead to a catastrophe.

In spite of former aberrations, everything was still possible in July, 1914. Agreement with England had been reached. We should have had to send to Petersburg a representative who at any rate reached the average standard of political ability, and we should have had to give Russia the certainty that we desired neither

to dominate the Straits nor to throttle the Serbs. M. Sazonoff was saying to us—"L'achete l'Autriche et nous l'achetons les Français," and M. Ammon (French Ambassador in Berlin), said to Herr von Jagow—"Vous n'avez pas besoin de suivre l'Autriche."

We needed neither alliances nor wars, but merely treaties which would protect us and others, and which would guarantee us an economic development for which there had been no precedent in history. And if Russia had been relieved of trouble in the west, she would have been able to turn again to the east, and then the Anglo-Russian antagonism would have arisen automatically without our interference—and the Russo-Japanese antagonism no less than the Anglo-Russian.

We could also have approached the question of limitation of armaments, and should have had no further need to bother about the confusion of Austria-Hungary would then become the vassal of the German Empire—without an alliance, and, above all, without sentimental services on our part, leading ultimately to war for the liberation of Poland and the destruction of Serbia, although German interests demanded exactly the contrary.

I had to support in London a policy which I knew to be fallacious. I was paid out for it, for it was a sin against the Holy Ghost!

On my arrival in Berlin I saw at once that I was to be made the scapegoat for the catastrophe of which our Government had made itself guilty, in opposition to my advice and my warnings.

The report was persistently circulated by official quarters that I had let myself be deceived by Sir Edward Grey, because if had not wanted war Russia would not have mobilized. Count Pourtales, whose reports could be relied upon, was to be spared, if only because of his family connections. He was said to have behaved 'splendidly,' and he was enthusiastically praised, while I was all the more sharply blamed.

"What has Russia got to do with Serbia?" this statesman said to me, after eight years of official activity in Petersburg. It was made out that the whole business was a perfidious British trick which I had not understood. In the Foreign office I was told that in 1914 it would in any case have come to war. But then Russia would have been "ready," and so it was better now.

Summing Up Against Germany. As it appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own White Book, which owing to its overt and gaps constitutes a grave self-accusation: 1. We encouraged Count Berchtold to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world-war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference; 2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazonoff emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack on Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of mediation, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply; 3. On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia's mobilization by sending an ultimatum to Petersburg, and on

July 31 we declared war on the Russians, although the Tsar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world outside Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the world-war.

Is it not intelligible that our enemies declare that they will not rest until a system is destroyed which constitutes a permanent threatening of our neighbors? Must they not otherwise fear that in a few years they will again have to take up arms, and again see their provinces overrun and their towns and villages destroyed? Were these people not right who declared that it was the spirit of Treitschke and Bernhardi which dominated the German people—the spirit which glorifies war as an aim in itself and does not abhor it as an evil? Were these people not right who said that among us it is still feudal knights and Junkers and the caste of warriors who rule and who fix our ideals and our values—not the civilian gentlemen? Were they not right who said that the love of duelling, which inspires our youth at the universities, lives on those who guide the fortunes of the people? Had not the events at Zabern and the Parliamentary debates on that case show foreign countries civil rights and freedoms valued among us, when questions of military power are on the other side?

Cramb, a historian who has since died, an admirer of Germany, put the German point of view into the words of Goethe's Euphorion:

"Traumt ihr den Freidenstag? Traume, wir trauern mag! Krieg ist das Lösungswort! Sieg, und so klingt es fort!"

Militarism, really a school for the nation and an instrument of policy makes policy into the instrument of military power, if the patriarchal absolutism of a soldier-kingdom renders possible an attitude which would not be permitted by a democracy which had disengaged itself from military-Junker influences.

That is what our enemies think, and that is what they are bound to think, when they see that, in spite of capitalist industrialization, and in spite of Socialistic organization, the living as Friedrich Nietzsche says, are still governed by the dead. The principal war aim of our enemies, the democratization of Germany, will be achieved.

A Perverted Outlook.

Today, after two years of the war, there can be no further doubt that we cannot hope for an unconditional victory over Russians, English, French, Italians, Rumanians and Americans, and that we cannot reckon upon the overthrow of our enemies. But we can reach a compromised peace only upon the basis of the evacuation of the occupied territories, the possession of which in any case signifies for us a burden and weakness and the peril of new wars. Consequently everything should be avoided which hinders a change of course on the part of those enemy groups which might perhaps still be won over to the idea of compromise—the British Radicals and the Russian Reactionaries. Even from this point of view our Polish project is just as objectionable as any interference with Belgian rights, or the execution of British citizens, to say nothing of the mad submarine war scheme.

Our future lies upon the water. True but it therefore does not lie in Poland or Belgium, in France and Serbia. That is a reversion to the Holy



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Roman Empire, to the aberrations of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs. It is the policy of the Plantagenets, not the policy of Drake and Raleigh, Nelson and Rhodes.

Triple Alliance policy is a relapse into the past, a revolt from the future, from Imperialism, from world policy. Central Europe is medievalism; Berlin-Bagdad is a cul de sac, and not a road into the ocean, to unlimited possibilities, and to the world mission of the German people.

I am no enemy of Austria, or Hungary, or Italy, or Serbia, or any other State; I am only an enemy of the Triple Alliance policy, which was bound to divert us from our aims, and to bring us on to the sloping plane of Continental Policy. It was not a German policy, but Austrian dynastic policy. The Austrians had accustomed themselves to regard the alliance as an umbrella, under whose protection they could make excursions at pleasure into the East.

And what result have we to expect from the struggles of peoples? The United States of Africa will be British, like the United States of America, Australia and Oceania; and the Latin States of Europe, as I said years ago, will fall into the same relationship to the United Kingdom as the Latin States of America to the United States. They will be dominated by the Anglo-Saxon. France, exhausted

by the war, will link herself still more closely to Great Britain. In the long run, Spain also will not resist.

In Asia, the Russian and Japanese will expand with their limitations and their customs and the South will remain to the British.

The world will belong to the Anglo-Saxon, the Russian, and the Japanese, and the German will remain alone with Austria and Hungary. His sphere of power will be that of thought and of trade, not that of the bureaucrats and the soldiers. The German appeared too late, and the world war has destroyed the last possibility of catching up the lost ground, of founding a Colonial Empire.

The programme of the great Rhodes who saw salvation of mankind in British expansion and British imperialism, will be realized.

Tu regere imperio populos Romano mento.
Hae tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."

The African Treaty of 1913.

In the 1893 a secret treaty had been signed by Count Hatfield (then German Ambassador in London) and Mr. Balfour, which divided the Portuguese colonies in Africa into economic-political spheres of interest between us and England. As the Portuguese Government possessed neither the pow-

er nor the means to open up or adequately to administer its extensive possessions, the Portuguese Government had already at an earlier date thought of selling these possessions and thereby putting their finances in order. Between us and England an agreement had been reached which defined to the interest of the two parties and which was of all the greater value because Portugal, as is well known, is completely dependent upon England.

This treaty was no doubt to secure outwardly the integrity and independence of the Portuguese Empire, and it only expressed the intention of giving financial and economic assistance to the Portuguese. Consequently it did not according to the text, conflict with the old Anglo-Portuguese alliance, dating from the 15th century, which was last renewed under Charles II, and which guaranteed the territories of the two parties. Nevertheless, at the instance of Marquess Soveral, who presumably was not ignorant of the Anglo-German agreement, a new treaty—the so-called Windsor Treaty—which confirmed the old agreements, was concluded in 1899 between England and Portugal.

The object of the negotiations between us and England which had begun before my arrival, was to alter and amend our treaty of 1899, which contained many incoherent features—for example, with regard to the geo-

graphical delimitation. Thanks to the conciliatory attitude of the British Government, I succeeded in giving to the new treaty a form which entirely accorded with our wishes and interests. All Angola, as far as the 20th degree of longitude, was allotted to us, so that we reached the Congo territory from the south. Moreover, the valuable islands of San Thome and Principe, which lie north of the Equator, and therefore really belonged to the French sphere of interests, were allotted to us—a fact which caused my French colleagues to make lively, although vain representations. Further we obtained the northern part of Mozambique; the frontier was formed by the Likungo. The British Government showed the utmost readiness to meet our interests and wishes.

The best way for the pro-German papers to apologize for the harm they have done is to stop publication.

The Socialists have always promised the people many luxuries. They fulfill their promise in Russia by giving the people the luxury of a terribly high cost government.

The rural wisecracks who loaf around the corner grocery are convinced that the college girls won't be able to accomplish much on the farms.